SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: After 31st March, what will he do? What he is going...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now the Motion of Thanks ..

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: No, Madam. Is he going to satisfy the claims of those people who are ...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kulkarni, I have not permitted you. Please sit down.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I want-to know from him.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No. You cannot know anything. Please sit down. I have not permitted you to enquire anything.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I am not asking for your permission to sit down. I am asking him ..

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kulkarni, you are a very senior Member of this House. You need my permission to do anything in this House. Please sit down.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Not for sitting down. For raising a question ..

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. Now the Motion of Thanks-Mr. P. N. Sukul. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI J. VENGAL RAO: Without the permission of the Chair, 1 cannot say anything.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

MOTIONS OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

श्री पशुपति नाथ सुकुल (उत्तर प्रदेश): महोदया, मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूं कि :

राष्ट्रपति के प्रति निम्नलिखित रूप में कृतज्ञता ज्ञापित की जाय—

"राष्ट्रपति, ने 21 फरवरी, 1989 को संसद् की दोनों सभाओं की सम्मिलित बैठक में कृपया जो अभिभाषण दिया है, उसके लिये राज्य सभा के सदस्य, जो सभा के वर्तमान सत्र में उपस्थित है, राष्ट्रपति के प्रति अपनी हार्दिक कृतज्ञता ज्ञापित करते हैं।

उपसभापति महोदया, मुझे हर्ष है कि इस कृतज्ञता प्रस्ताव के द्वारा मेरी पार्टी ने मुझे राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर बहस का श्रीगणेश करने का अवसर दिया है उसके लिए मैं अपनी पार्टी और नेतृत्व का कृतज्ञ हूं। राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण की परम्परा हमने इंगलैण्ड से ली है। इंगलैण्ड में इसी प्रकार से राजा या रानी संसद् के दोनों सदनों की संयुक्त बैठक को संबोधित करते हैं और तदनुसार हमारे यहां भी राष्ट्रपति महोदय किसी वर्ष के आरम्भ में संसद् के दोनों सदनों की संयुक्त बैठक को संबोधित करते हैं। अभिभाषण में सरकार की नीतियों का उल्लेख करते हुए यह अपेक्षा की जाती है कि राष्ट्रपति महोदय विगत वर्ष की उपलब्धियों का एक त्वरित सर्वेक्षण करेंगे और यदि हम इस चीज को देखें तो हमारे राष्ट्रपति महोदय का अभिभाषण पूर्णतः युक्तियुक्त और समीचीन प्रतीत होता है। अभिभाषण में स्वर्गीय पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू द्वारा प्रतिपादित राष्ट्रीयता, लोकतंत्र, धर्मनिरपेक्षता, समाजवाद एंव गुटनिरपेक्षता के सिद्धान्तों की चर्चा की गई है जिन पर आज भी देश चल रहा है। इन सार्वभौम सिद्धान्तों को बनाये रखकर संसार का कोई भी देश सम्मानपूर्वक अपनी स्वतंत्रता को अक्षुण्ण रखते हुए न केवल हर दिशा में प्रगति कर सकता है वरन् विश्व-बन्धुत्व की भावना को फैलाने में अपना योगदान भी दे सकता है। नेहरू जी एक अग्रणी स्वतंत्रता सेनानी ही नहीं थे, वे इसके अतिरिक्त भारत के प्रथम प्रधानमंत्री भी थे। 18 वर्षों तक उन्होंने हमारी सरकार का संचालेन किया था। अतः राष्ट्रपति जी द्वारा अभिभाषण के आरम्भ में उनका स्मरण करना और उन्हें देश की, देश की जनता की ओर से और संसद् की ओर से श्रद्धा सुमन अर्पित करना पूर्णतः उचित था क्योंकि हम इस वर्ष श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू जी की जन्म शताब्दी मना रहे हैं और अगले वर्ष जब अभिभाषण होगा तो यह शताब्दी समाप्त हो चुकी होगी। इसी वर्ष हमें उन्हें, उनके प्रति श्रद्धा अर्पित करनी है। नेहरू जी ने जिन सिद्धान्तों की आधारशिला रखी उन पर चलकर कोई भी देश अपना अभीष्ट प्राप्त कर सकता है। और हमने भी अपना बहुत कुछ विकास इन्हीं सिद्धान्तों पर चलकर किया है और विश्व में अपनी साख बनाई है। नेहरू जी के दिखाये मार्ग पर ही, उन्हीं सिद्धान्तों पर श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी भी आजीवन चली और अब हमारे वर्तमान प्रधानमंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी जो भी उसी मार्ग पर अग्रसर हैं। नेहरू जी और इंदिरा जी दोनों का यह ठोस विचार था कि प्रत्येक देश की प्रभुसत्ता और अखंडता और अन्य देशों के प्रति उसकी शांतिपूर्ण सह-अस्तित्व की भावना न केवल उसे आगे बढ़ा सकती हैं वरन् अन्य देशों के साथ सम्मानजनक एंव मित्रतापूर्ण ढंग से कार्य करने की स्वतंत्रता प्रदान कर

4 p.m.

सकती है। आज हमारी विदेश नीति के यही मार्ग-दर्शक सिद्धांत हैं और यह प्रसन्नता की बात है कि आज विश्व के अनेकानेक देश इन्हीं सिद्धान्तों पर चलने का प्रयास कर रहे हैं। इन्हीं सिद्धान्तों में, जिनमें गुट-निरपेक्षता भी सम्मिलित है, हमारी विदेश नीति की सफलता के बीज सन्निहित हैं। आज हमारी विदेश नीति के कायल न केवल छोटे देश हैं वरन् रूस और अमेरिका और चीन भी उसके कायल हो रहे हैं। रूस और अमेरिका दोनों से ही हमारे संबंध निरन्तर दृढ़ होते जा रहे हैं और इसका श्रेय हमारे प्रगतिशील और युवा प्रधानमंत्री राजीव गांधी को है। महोदया, मैं सर्वप्रथम विदेश नीति की चर्चा कर रहा हूं क्योंकि इससे ही शेष विश्व से हमारे संबंधों की समीक्षा की जा सकती है। यह हर्ष का विषय है कि प्रधानमंत्री जी के सद्प्रयासों के फलस्वरूप जैसा कि मैंने अभी कहा अमेरिका और रूस से हमारे संबंध अच्छे हो ही रहे हैं लेकिन साथ ही साथ उनके पारस्परिक संबंध भी अच्छे हो रहे हैं। इससे विश्व में एक पारस्परिक सौहार्द और शांति का वातावरण बनने लगा है। हमारे प्रधानमंत्री ने अपनी पिछली संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ की यात्रा में रखे गये ऐक्शन प्लान के द्वारा न केवल नाभिकीय प्रक्षेपास्त्रों के समापन की चेष्टा की है बल्कि यह भी सुनिश्चित करना चाहा है कि परंपरागत हथियार और सेनाओं को सुरक्षा के लिये आवश्यक और कम से कम स्तर पर ही रखा जाय।

जहां तक हमारे पड़ौसी देशों का संबंध है, महोदया, कुछ से हमारे संबंध बहुत अच्छे नहीं थे कुछ समय पहले । लेकिन यह हमारे नेतृत्व और हमारे प्रधानमंत्री जी के प्रयासों का ही फल है कि आज उन देशों से भी हमारे संबंध धीरे-धीरे अच्छे हो रहे हैं। श्री गांधी की चीन यात्रा के संबंध में, जो गत दिसम्बर मास में हुई थी, हमारे विपक्षी दल के नेताओं में काफी भ्रम व्याप्त रहा है। सुब्रह्मण्यम स्वामी जी यहां नहीं हैं। उन्होंने एक इंटरव्यू जनवरी में दिया था और उसमें उन्होंने कहा था कि प्रधानमंत्री खाली हाथ गये और खाली हाथ लौटे। इसी प्रकार हमारे अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी ने कहा। मैं उनको कोट करना चाहता हूं "मैं इसमें विश्वास नहीं करता कि इस यात्रा से दोनों देशों के संबंधों के इतिहास में नया अध्याय खुलेगा"। लेकिन हुआ यही कि एक नया अध्याय हमारे और चीन के संबंधों का खुल गया। हमारे देश का कोई भी प्रधानमंत्री विगत 34 वर्षों से चीन नहीं गया था और न वहां का प्रधानमंत्री यहां आया था। इसलिये श्री गांधी जी के द्वारा जो यह पहल की गई है वह नितान्त सराहनीय है। इस पहल के फलस्वरूप दोनों देशों के निकट आने की प्रक्रिया प्रारम्भ हो गई है और बातचीत से समस्याओं के समाधान का मार्ग प्रशस्त हुआ है और अंतर्राष्ट्रीय तनाव में कमी आई है। चीन में दोनों देशों की ओर से जारी संयुक्त विज्ञप्ति में कहा गया है कि दक्षिण एशिया के देशों को पंचशील के सिद्धान्तों पर चलकर अपनी समस्याओं का हल करना चाहिये। यानी चीन हमारे उन्हीं सिद्धान्तों और उन्हीं आदर्शों को मान रहा है जिनका प्रतिपादन नेहरू जी ने पांचवे दशक में किया था। सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि जब हमारे प्रधानमंत्री जी की वहां के नेता देंग स्याओं पिंग से बात हुई तो उन्होंने कहा कि "फारगेट दि पास्ट"। इस पर एक हमारे विरोधी नेता ने कहा कि "हाउ वी केन फारगेट दि पास्ट"। उन्होंने अपने इंटरव्यू में कहा था। लेकिन यहां फारगेट दि पास्ट का मतलब पास्ट नहीं बल्कि पास्ट की कड़वाहट से है। अतीत को हम नहीं भूल सकते हैं लेकिन उन्होंने यह इच्छा प्रकट की कि हमारे देशों के बीच जो कडवाहट आ गई थी हमें उसको भुला देना चाहिये। यह एक बहुत ही ठोस कदम है और एक बहुत अच्छी सदइच्छा है। जो संयुक्त कार्यकारीदल का गठन हुआ है उससे राजनैतिक वार्तालाप का मार्ग खुला है। यह दल सीमा पर शान्ति की रक्षा करेगा, सीमा पर शान्ति सुनिश्चित करेगा। इस यात्रा के फलस्वरूप हमारे दोनों देशों के बीच में व्यापार में भी वृद्धि होने जा रही है। 1988 में 18 करोड़ डालर का दोनों देशों के बीच में व्यापार हुआ था जिसमें से हमारा निर्यात केवल 8 करोड़ डालर का था। प्रधानमंत्री जी की इस सद्भावना यात्रा के बाद दोनों देशों के व्यापार में भी काफी अभिवृद्धि होगी। श्री गांधी की यात्रा के बाद तत्काल 8 जनवरी को चीन के विदेश मंत्री क्योन किचेन ने कहा कि "हमारे दोनों देशों ने सहअस्तित्व के सिद्धान्त पर चल कर ही मित्रतापूर्ण सम्बन्धों को विकसित करने और सभी समस्याओं का समाधान ढूंढने का निश्चय किया है"। अब इससे यह स्पष्ट हो गया है कि अब चीन और भारत के बीच टकराव की सम्भावना बहुत कम हो गई है। दोनों देश पंचशील के सिद्धान्तों के अनुसार व्यवहार करने को उद्यत हैं। हम तो उद्यत थे ही, चीन भी उद्यत है। सब से बड़ी बात यह है कि इस प्रकार धीरे-धीरे मित्रता की शुरूआत हो रही है और एशिया के दो सब से बड़े देश एक दूसरे के निकट आ रहे हैं जिससे हमारी मित्रता का प्रभाव वास्तव में अत्यंत दूरगामी सिद्ध होगा। चीन की सदिच्छा इससे भी प्रकट होती है कि जब हमारे प्रधानमंत्री जी से वार्तालाप हुआ तो उन्होंने न अरुणाचल का प्रश्न उठाया और न सिक्किम का प्रश्न उठाया। वह उठा सकते थे, इससे वादविवाद हो सकता था, झगड़ा हो सकता था लेकिन चीन ने ऐसा कोई भी प्रश्न नहीं उठाया जिससे हमें असुविधा होती। अब उसके बाद हमारे प्रधानमन्त्री पाकिस्तान गये और पाकिस्तान से भी हमारी मित्रता के द्वार इस यात्रा के बाद खुलने लगे हैं। पाकिस्तान में एक लम्बी अवधि के बाद लोकतन्त्र की स्थापना हुई है और दोनों लोकतान्त्रिक नेताओं के बीच जो वार्तालाप हुआ पाकिस्तान में उससे स्पष्ट है कि दोनों एक दूसरे के प्रति सौहार्द बढ़ाना चाहते हैं। दोनों देशों के बीच में मेल-जोल बढ़ाना चाहते हैं और इससे भी स्पष्ट है कि बेनज़ीर भुट्टो ने संवाददाताओं से कहा कि अब पाकिस्तान आतंकवादियों की मदद नहीं करेगा। हमारी सब बड़ी समस्या इधर पिछले कुछ वर्षों से आतंकवादियों की रही है। हम सभी यह कहते रहे हैं जानते रहे हैं कि पाकिस्तान परोक्ष रूप से इन आतंकवादियों को हथियार और धन तथा प्रशिक्षण देता रहा है लेकिन अब पाकिस्तान के प्रधानमंत्री की इस घोषणा के बाद कि वह आतंकवादियों की मदद नहीं

करेगा वास्तव में हम दोनों देश बहुत जल्द एक दूसरे के निकट आ सकते हैं। जहां तक हमारे पड़ौसी देशों में श्रीलंका और मालदीव का प्रश्न है वहां भी हमारी सेनाओं ने बड़ा सराहनीय कार्य किया है। मालदीव के राष्ट्रपति के बुलाने पर ही हमारी सेनाएं वहां गई और उसने वहां की सरकार का तख्ता पलटने से बचाया, उस देश की रक्षा की, लोकतंत्र की रक्षा की, वहां की सरकार की रक्षा की, इसके लिए वह देश हमारे देश का कृतज्ञ है। श्रीलंका में भी हमारी जो शान्ति सेना रखी गई उसने नाना प्रकार की बाधाओं के बावजूद बहुत सुन्दर काम किया और यह आज उसी का सुफल है कि श्रीलंका में चुनाव सम्पन्न हो गये हैं और लोकतान्त्रिक सरकार और प्रान्तों में भी लोकतान्त्रिक सरकार की स्थापना हो चुकी है। हमारे प्रधानमंत्री जी ने बारम्बार यह कहा है स्पष्ट रूप से यह कहा है कि तमिलों की आकांक्षाएं श्रीलंका की सार्वभौमिकता और अखण्डता के अधीन ही पूरी की जाएंगी। इस प्रकार हम देखते हैं कि हमारे सम्बन्ध नेपाल से और भूटान से पहले ही ठीक थे, अब सारे पड़ौसी देशों से हमारे सम्बन्ध अच्छे बनते जा रहे हैं। यह एक बहुत बड़ी उपलब्धि है विशेष रूप से अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय जगत में। भारत पहला राष्ट्र था जिसने स्वतन्त्र फिलिस्तीन को मान्यता प्रदान की ।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष श्री आनन्द शर्मा पीठासीन हुए]

हमने अभी थोड़े दिन पहले श्री गोर्बाचेव को इन्दिरा गांधी अवार्ड फार पीस, डिसआर्मामेंट एंड डवलपमेंट प्रदान किया । यह सब चीजें हमारी मित्रता अपने पड़ौसी देशों से और दुनियां के बड़े देशों से बनाने में काफी हद तक सहायक होगी।

महोदय, राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण से ...(व्यवधान)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री आनन्द शर्मा): साड़ी के बाद दाढ़ी तो नज़र आनी चाहिये। (व्यवधान)

श्री पशुपति नाथ सुकुल: महोदय, इस बीच में (व्यवधान)

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Only problem is the beard.

श्री पशुपति नाथ सुकुल: महोदय, राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण से स्पष्ट है कि विभिन्न बाधाओं के बावजूद हमारा देश सर्वांगीण प्रगति कर रहा है और उसका भविष्य बहुत उज्ज्वल है। हमने देखा कि किस प्रकार त्रिपुरा में शांति स्थापित हो चुकी है। वहां कुछ जो गुमराह तत्व थे उनकी समझ में भी यह बात आ गयी है कि राष्ट्र के व्यापक हित में काम करके ही वे अपना भी हित साधन कर सकते हैं। नागालैंड में इधर कुछ समय से अशांति मची हुई थी, लेकिन हमारे नेतृत्व ने बातचीत के द्वारा ही उस मसले को भी सुलझाया। नागालैंड क्षेत्र में उत्पन्न अशांति समाप्त हो चुकी है और उत्तर पूर्व में नागालैंड और मिजोरम में भी शांति स्थापित है। वहां भी अभी अभी चुनाव सम्पन्न हुए हैं और लोकप्रिय सरकारों का गठन हो चुका है। हां इतना अवश्य है कि पंजाब की समस्या अभी पूरी तरह से हल करना बाकी है। इस समस्या से ... (व्यवधान) आसाम में बहुत छोटा है, मैं नहीं समझता कि उसमें बहुत ज्यादा समय लगेगा। पंजाब समस्या अभी जैसा मैंने कहा कि अभी हल होनी बाकी है। लेकिन इतना भी स्पष्ट है कि श्री गांधीजी के पंजाब के दौरे से वहां के लोगों में एक नया विश्वास जागृत हुआ है और वातावरण में सुधार हुआ है।

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA (Punjab): This is totally wrong.

श्री पशुपति नाथ सुकुल: सरकार आतंकवाद को समूल नष्ट करने के लिए कटिबद्ध है, यह हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में भी है और आतंकवाद के साथ जो यह हमारी लड़ाई हो रही है इस पर राष्ट्रपति महोदय ने ठीक कहा कि इसमें हमारा सबसे बड़ा हथियार वहां की, पंजाब की जनता है जो दृढ़तापूर्वक आतंकवादियों से लोहा ले रही है और तमाम आतंकवादियों की गड़बड़ियों के बावजूद अपना काम सामान्य रूप से कर रही है और उत्पादन निरंतर बढ़ा रही है। पंजाब के लोगों का सरकार को पूर्ण सहयोग है। कुछ गुमराह तत्व या आंतकवादी ये हरकतें कर रहे हैं लेकिन जहां तक बहुमत का सवाल है, जनता का सवाल है, चाहे वे हिन्दू हों या सिक्ख हों वे सरकार के साथ हैं, सरकार की नीतियों के साथ हैं और उनका सरकार की इस क्षमता में भी पूर्ण विश्वास है कि यह सरकार आंतकवादियों को जड़ से निकालकर बाहर करने में सफल होगी। पंजाब के सिलसिले में मैं वहां के राज्यपाल श्री सिद्धार्थ शंकर रे, उनके सलाहकार श्री जूलियस रिबेरो और वहां के जो पुलिस के महानिदेशक श्री गिल हैं इन तीनों को बधाई देना चाहूंगा और अपनी ओर से धन्यवाद देना चाहूंगा कि जस दृढ़ता और मुस्तैदी के साथ वे इस समस्या से निपट रहे हैं और वहां की धरती से आतंकवाद को खत्म करने के लिए कृतसंकल्प है।

महोदय, धर्मनिरपेक्षता हमारी राष्ट्रीय एकता का आधारभूत सिद्धांत है। इसकी रक्षा में हमारे अनेकानेक नेताओं ने अपना बलिदान दिया है। धर्मनिरपेक्षता धर्महीनता नहीं है। धर्मनिरपेक्षता का अर्थ है सर्व धर्म समभाव और यही कारण है कि धर्मनिरपेक्ष शक्तियों ने हमारे देश में सदैव उन तत्वों से लोहा लिया है जो धर्म के नाम पर समाज तथा देश का शोषण करना चाहती हैं और जो केवल अपने निजी स्वार्थ या छोटे स्वार्थ के लिए लोगों को आपस में लड़ाना चाहती हैं। 80 करोड़ की आबादी वाले इस देश में जहां अनेक जातियों के लोग रहते हैं, अनेक धर्म प्रचलित हैं, अनेक भाषाएं बोली जाती हैं और जहां समय समय पर अनेक प्रकार

की संस्कृतियां पुष्पित और पल्लवित हो चुकी हैं ....(**व्यवधान**)

SHRI M. A. BABY (Kerala): Could you yield for a minute, please? With your permission, Sir, a wrong in terpretation is given to secularism. Secu larism is separation of religion from State ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ANAND SHARMA): I have not allowed you. You continue, Mr. Sukul. When your party .leader speaks, he can clarify. Interruptions are not allowed.

श्री पशुपति नाथ सुकुल: मैंने कहा कि वह एण्टी रिलीजन नहीं है। All religions are treated alike.

श्री पवन कुमार बांसल (पंजाब): आप कहीं और की बात कर रहे हैं, ...(**व्यवधान**) You do not know the Indian ethos.

श्री पशुपति नाथ सुकुल: जैसा कि मैंने कहा 80 करोड़ की आबादी वाले इस देश में, जहां अनेक जातियों के लोग हैं, अनेक भाषायें बोली जाती हैं, अनेक धर्म प्रचलित हैं और जहां समय-समय पर अनेक प्रकार की संस्कृतियां पुष्पित और पल्लवित होकर अपना सौरभ बिखेर चुकी हैं, कुछ गुमराह लोगों का होना आश्चर्य की बात नहीं है। लेकिन प्रसन्नता की बात यह है कि जो बहुत है हमारी जनता का, चाहे किसी धर्म का हो, वह इस प्रकार के गुमराह लोगों के बहकावे में नहीं आता, बल्कि उससे लड़ता है क्योंकि हमारे देशवासी विवेकशील हैं, सहिष्णु हैं, धैर्यवान हैं।

यह संतोष का विषय है। कि सरकार की इस जागरूकता और जनता के सहयोग से हम इस शताब्दी के सब से भंयकर सूखे के शिकंजे से निकल कर बाहर आ गये। हमने इस भीषण सूखे के बावजूद एक भी व्यक्ति को अपने देश में भूख से मरने नहीं दिया। इसके पहले भी हमारे देश में सूखे आए। इन्दिरा जी के प्रधान मंत्री बनने के तत्काल बाद ही सूखा आया, 1966-67 में सूखा आया, जनता सरकार के समय में भी सूखे की स्थिति उत्पन्न हुई, लेकिन उन दोनों समयों में इतनी भंयकर स्थिति नहीं थी, जैसे कि इस बार थी। इसे तो सब ने कहा कि यह इस शताब्दी का सब से बड़ा सूखा रहा। लेकिन 1966-67 में जब सूखा आया, तो हमारी विकास दर में 5.5 प्रतिशत की कमी आ गई। जनता सरकार के समय में जब सूखा आया, तो हमारी विकास दर में 4.5 प्रतिशत की कमी आ गई, लेकिन इस भीषणतम सूखे के बावजूद मैं अपनी सरकार को, अपने तमाम अधिकारियों और कर्मचारियों और जनता को बधाई दूंगा कि श्री राजीव गांधी की सरकार के समय में सूखे के बावजूद 3.6 प्रतिशत विकास दर की वृद्धि हुई। हमें इस वृद्धि पर नाज़ होना चाहिए, गर्व होना चाहिए।

महोदय, अच्छी मानसून और सरकार के विभिन्न कार्यक्रमों के फलस्वरूप इस वर्ष खाद्यान्न का रिकार्ड उत्पादन होने की आशा है। कृषि मंत्री जी से मेरी बात हो रही थी। उनका कहना है कि 17 करोड़ मीट्रिक टन से भी अधिक अनाज पैदा होने जा रहा है। कृषि के क्षेत्र में गत वर्ष की अपेक्षा इस वर्ष 23 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है। कपास, गन्ना और तिलहन का रिकार्ड उत्पादन हुआ है और इसके लिए हम किसानों और खेतिहर मजदूरों को जितनी भी बधाई दें, वह कम होगी।

हमारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था कितनी मजबूत और लचीली है, इसका पता इसी से चलता है कि सूखे के बावजूद..

SHRI MOTURU HANUMANTHA RAO (Andhra Pradesh): You must congratulate the rain that has come to our aid.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: I want to avoid the rain of your words—the verbal rain.

हमारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था कितनी मजबूत और लचीली है— मैं आपसे कह रहा था कि सूखे के बावजूद सकल देशी उत्पादों की विकास दर, जी० डी० पी० जिसे कहते हैं, 9 प्रतिशत से अधिक होने की आशा है। सातवीं योजना के प्रथम चार वर्षों में विकास दर 5 प्रतिशत के निर्धारित लक्ष्य से भी अधिक रही है और आठवीं योजना के लिए यह बहुत अच्छी शुरूआत है।

प्रथम चार वर्षों में, महोदय, हमारी औद्योगिक विकास दर 8 प्रतिशत रही। चालू वर्ष के प्रथम छह मास में 9.5 प्रतिशत रही। विनिर्माण, अर्थात् मेनुफैक्चरिंग के क्षेत्र में 10.5 प्रतिशत रही। गत वर्ष की तुलना में इस वर्ष के प्रथम 8 महीनों में कोयला उत्पादन में 7.8 प्रतिशत वृद्धि हुई, बिजली में 7.6 प्रतिशत वृद्धि हुई, सिमेंट में

12.2 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई और उर्वरकों में 34.5 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई।

इससे पता चलता है कि हमारा जो औद्योगिक क्षेत्र है, उसमें भी कितना अधिक काम हो रहा है और कितनी सफलता के साथ काम हो रहा है।

महोदय, पहली बार इस साल सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के उपक्रमों, पब्लिक सैक्टर, ने अच्छा लाभ दिया है इस सब से पता चलता है कि सरकार की नीतियां और कार्यक्रम कितने सफल हो रहे हैं। लेकिन, महोदय, हमारी सरकार के लिए भी, हम सब के लिए और हमारी जनता के लिए भी यह चिंता का विषय है कि इस सब के बावजूद मूल्य वृद्धि होती जा रही है।

थोक मूल्य सूचकांक जो 12 नवम्बर को 437.5 था वह घट कर 24 दिसम्बर को 433.1 हो गया और फिर बढ़कर 21 जनवरी को 439.3 हुआ और 28 जनवरी को 437.6 हो गया। औसत सूचकांक जनवरी का 437.5 था और यह सूचकांक दिसम्बर के सूचकांक से .7 प्रतिशत अधिक है और जनवरी 1988 की तुलना में 5.2 प्रतिशत अधिक है। 1988-89 के प्रथम 10 मास में, महोदय, औसत 432.6 का आया है। यह औसत पिछले वर्ष की अपेक्षा 7.3 प्रतिशत अधिक है। चिंता की बता तो यह है कि आवश्यक वस्तुओं के मूल्यों में वृद्धि हुई और हो रही है। जैसे कि अनाज है, सब्जी है, फल है, दूध है। यह वृद्धि चिंता का कारण है, क्योंकि इससे जनता को काफी असुविधा होने जा रही है। यह संतोष का विषय है कि खाद्य तेलों के मामले में मूल्यों में कुछ कमी आई है। लेकिन फिर भी जहां तक अन्य आवश्यक वस्तुओं का प्रश्न है, सरकार को निरन्तर सतर्क रह कर इस पर नज़र रखनी होगी और पूरा प्रयास करना होगा कि मूल्य वृद्धि नहीं होने पाए और यथासंभव जहां-जहां हम मूल्य को कम करने में सफल हो सकें वहां पर उनमें कमी लाएं तभी जनता को राहत मिलेगी।

SHRI M. A. BABY: The railway freight has been increased. The prices will also increase.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: When you arc called to speak,' you speak.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI, ANAND SHARMA): Mr. Baby, I request you not to become an interrupter.

SHRI M. A. BABY: If the railway freight is increased, how will the prices come down?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ANAND SHARMA): Leave it to your party leader.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: Mr. Baby, don't behave like a baby.

SHRI M. A. BABY: Your Prime Minister is behaving like a child and increasing the railway freight.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ANAND SHARMA): Mr. Sukul, you please proceed.

श्री पशुपति नाथ सुकुल: उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, बीस सूत्रीय कार्यक्रम के अंतर्गत हमारी सरकार गरीबी हटाने और बेरोज़गारी हटाने के लिए कृत-संकल्प है और इन सभी कार्यक्रमों पर बड़ी मुस्तैदी से काम हो रहा है। 1977-78 में 48 प्रतिशत लोग गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे थे, जो कि छठी योजना के अंत में 37 प्रतिशत रह गए। उम्मीद है कि 7वीं योजना के अंत तक जो एक साल भर में होने जा रहा है 25 प्रतिशत से अधिक लोग गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे नहीं रहेंगे।

हमारी सरकार पंचायती राज प्रणाली में सुधार लाने का प्रयास कर रही है। हमारी पार्टी में विभिन्न स्तरों पर इस पर बहुत अधिक बहस पिछले साल हो चुकी है और अभी इस साल पुनः प्रधान मंत्री जी ने यह संकेत दिया है कि ग्राम स्तर से ले करके दिल्ली स्तर तक ग्राम, ब्लाक, जिला, प्रदेश और देश इन सभी स्तरों पर दोबारा चर्चा होगी, ताकि अंतिम रूप से जो प्रस्ताव सामने आए उस पर अमल किया जा सके। हमारी सरकार इसी बजट सत्र में यह प्रस्ताव लाना चाहती है। चाहे उसमें संविधान संशोधन के प्रस्ताव जरूरी हों और चाहे दूसरे प्रस्ताव कि कैसे हम पंचायती राज व्यवस्था का लाभ जन-जन तक पहुंचा सकते है और ग्राम स्तर तक कैसे यह लाभ ले जा सकते हैं, ताकि प्रत्येक व्यक्ति का इन्वाल्वमेंट हमारी योजना बनाने में, उसे कार्यान्वित करने में, देश का

विकास करने में, अपनी दशा सुधारने में हो सके। यह बहुत सुन्दर प्रयास है और बहुत सराहनीय प्रयास है कि सीधे जनता को शक्ति देने का प्रयास किया जा रहा है।

महोदय, धर्म की राजनीति से अलग करने की दिशा में गत वर्ष कानून बना कर धार्मिक स्थलों के दुरुपयोग को हमारी सरकार पहले ही रोक चुकी है। पिछले सत्र में तमाम अनेक प्रकार के चुनाव संबंधी जो सुधार हुए पीपुल्स रिप्रेज़ेंटशन एक्ट में और जैसा कि सभी जानते हैं 18 वर्ष के लोगों को हमने मताधिकार प्रदान कर दिया है। यही सरकार, राजीव गांधी जी की ही सरकार ने एंटी-डिफेक्शन ला भी पास कराया था। तमाम प्रगतिशील कदम हमारी राजीव गांधी की सरकार उठा रही है, कांग्रेस की सरकार उठा रही है और इससे हमारे करोड़ों-करोड़ जो देशवासी हैं, उनका सीधा भला होने जा रहा है।

महोदय, मुझे यह कहते हुए खेद होता है कि देश में जो तमाम समस्याएं अभी भी हैं बहुत सी, उनकी ओर ध्यान न देकर हमारे विपक्ष के साथी जहां-जहां उनकी सरकारें हैं, वहां अपने कामकाज को ठीक से न करके राजीव गांधी की सरकार को गाली देते हैं, भला-बुरा कहते हैं। हमारी ओर से जो केन्द्रीय सहायता उन्हें दी जाती है बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम के अंतर्गत, उस केन्द्रीय सहायता का उपयोग उन्हीं मदों पर वे नहीं करते बल्कि उनका उपयोग किसी दूसरी मद पर करने लगते हैं। नतीजा इसका यह होता है कि जो कार्यक्रम हैं, जो योजनाएं हैं केन्द्रीय सरकार की, वह अधूरी रह जाती हैं। विपक्ष के लोग इधर के लोगों को रात-दिन, आप जानते हैं, भ्रष्ट-भ्रष्ट चिल्लाते रहते हैं। लेकिन उनके अंदर कितने भ्रष्ट लोग हैं, कितने जांच-आयोगों ने, कितने हाईकोर्टों ने, सुप्रीमकोर्ट ने कितनों के खिलाफ कितनी बातें कही हैं। फिर भी उनमें नैतिकता नहीं है, न एन० टी० रामाराव में है, न हेगड़े में है। किसी में भी इनके यहां नैतिकता नहीं है, हाईकोर्टों और सुप्रीमकोर्ट के कहने के बावजूद भी वे अपने पद को नहीं त्यागते।

महोदय, दरअसल विरोधी पक्षों के सिद्धांतहीन गठबंधनों से हमारी राजनीति कलंकित हो रही है। आप नहीं देखते कि कैसे-कैसे तत्व हैं, जिनको लेकर आप चलना चाहते हैं? कांग्रेस को यह भ्रष्ट कहते हैं और अगर कांग्रेस से एक भ्रष्ट आदमी निकल जाय तो वह इनका नेता बन जाता है, वह इनकी अगुवाई करने लगता है। कांग्रेस से निकले हुए लोगों को ये लोग सिर पर बैठा लेते हैं। यह इनकी राजनीति है। अभी कल जनता दल से चार लोगों का मोह भंग हुआ और चार नेताओं ने इस्तीफा दे दिया। मैंने सुना है कि आज अजीत सिंह ने भी इस्तीफा दे दिया है। तो आपस में इनका मोह भंग हो रहा है, जनता का तो कब से मोह भंग होना शुरू हो गया है। आखिर राजनीति मूल्यों पर आधारित होनी चाहिए, गाली-गलौच पर नहीं और निजी स्वार्थ-साधन पर नहीं। ... **(व्यवधान)** ... तमिलनाडु में तो बीस वर्ष से दूसरी सरकार है। आपको मालूम है कि अगर जयललिता से हमारा गठबंधन हो गया होता तो हमारी सरकार होती। ... **(व्यवधान)** ... मैं बता रहा हूँ, अगर हम मिल गए होते तो हमारी सरकार होती, लेकिन थोड़े से स्वार्थ के लिए हमने अपने सिद्धांतों से समझौता नहीं किया और हम अपने बल पर खड़े हुए, अपने बल पर लड़े। अगर हम मिल गए होते तो आज 34 परसेंट वोट पाकर आपकी सरकार नहीं बनती और हमारा जयललिता से गठबंधन होता तो 42 परसेंट वोट लेकर हमारी सरकार वहां बनी होती। तमिलनाडु की बात आप मत कीजिए।

महोदय, अभी 'इण्डिया-टुडे' का जो लेटेस्ट इस्यू आया है, जो नया अंक आया है, मैं कहता हूँ कि इसका हमारे विपक्ष के सभी साथी पाठ करें, इसको पढ़ें यह 28 फरवरी का अंक है। इस अंक में 'इण्डिया टुडे' ने "मार्केटिंग एण्ड रिसर्च ग्रुप" से एक नवीनतम रायशुमारी, एक ओपिनियन-पोल कराया। यह ओपिनियन पोल 25 दिसंबर से 1 फरवरी के बीच में हुआ, पूरे देश में हुआ। इसमें पूछा गया कि कौन अच्छा प्रधानमंत्री आपकी दृष्टि से हो सकता है — राजीव गांधी या वी० पी० सिंह? राजीव गांधी या रामकृष्ण हेगड़े? राजीव गांधी या ज्योतिबसु? इसमें जहां तक राजीव गांधी और वी० पी० सिंह का प्रश्न है, राजीव गांधी को 63 प्रतिशत मत मिले और वी० पी० सिंह को 29 प्रतिशत और दक्षिण में तो राजीव गांधी को 68 प्रतिशत मत मिले ... **(व्यवधान)** ... यह मैं तमिलनाडु की बात कर रहा हूँ। — मिस्टर बेबी, साउथ में जब यह ओपिनियन पोल हुआ तो वहां 68 परसेंट वोट राजीव गांधी को मिले और 27 परसेंट वोट ... **(व्यवधान)** ...

श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश): तमिलनाडु ने क्या किया?

श्री पशुपति नाथ सुकुल: यह ओपिनियन पोल तमिलनाडु चुनाव के बाद हुआ है। यह आज की स्थिति है।

SHRI M. A. BABY: My name has been taken.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ANAND SHARMA): He has not taken.

SHRI M. A. BABY: Yes, he has taken. He spoke about "India Today". What will be "India Tomorrow"?

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: You come out with another magazine. I will subscribe to it.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: He is talking about the survey conducted by "India Today"

... (Interruptions)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ANAND SHARMA): You are also behaving like them.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra.).. You tell him.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ANAND SHARMA): Yes, I have told him.

श्री पशुपति नाथ सुकुल: 'इंडिया टुडे' कोई सरकारी मैगजीन नहीं है। तो जैसा मैंने कहा, राजीव गांधी और वी० पी० सिंह में राजीव गांधी को 63 परसेंट वोट मिले और वी० पी० सिंह को 29 परसेंट मिले, राजीव गांधी और हेगड़े में राजीव गांधी 71 परसेंट और हेगड़े 23 परसेंट और राजीव गांधी ज्योति बसु में राजीव गांधी 66 परसेंट और ज्योति बसु को 28 परसेंट वोट मिले तो तमिलनाडु चुनाव के बाद पूरे भारत की जनता का यह विचार है कि राजीव गांधी से अच्छा प्रधान मंत्री देश को नहीं मिल सकता।

महोदय, अब इसके पूर्व कि मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करूं, मैं दो-चार सुझाव देना चाहता हूं इस अवसर का लाभ उठाकर---पहला तो जैसा मैंने कहा कि आवश्यक वस्तुओं के मूल्यों में होनेवाली वृद्धि पर पूर्ण रूप से नियंत्रण किया जाए और यथा संभव उन्हें कम करने का प्रयत्न किया जाए। नंबर दो, बीस सूत्रीय कार्यक्रम के अंतर्गत दी जानेवाली धनराशि का दुरुपयोग रोका जाए ताकि गरीबों को पूरी वांछित सहायता प्राप्त हो सके। नंबर तीन, हमारी अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस कमेटी का जो मद्रास सेशन हुआ था और उसमें जो आर्थिक प्रस्ताव था, उसमें एक चीज बढ़ायी गयी थी जोकि दिल्ली प्रस्ताव में भी थी। वह बात है कि कर्मचारियों और मजदूरों को हमारी पार्टी सामाजिक न्याय दिलाएगी। मैं समझता हूं कि सामाजिक न्याय में आर्थिक न्याय सन्निहित है। इसलिए आर्थिक न्याय उन्हें दिलाया जाए। कम-से-कम इस वर्ष न्यूनतम वेतन नीति हमारी सरकार को बनानी चाहिए। अधिकतम नहीं, न्यूनतम वेतन नीति का निर्धारण होना चाहिए। चौथी बात यह कि जब हमारी भारत सरकार कर्मचारियों का वेतन बढ़ाती है, मंहगाई भत्ता बढ़ाती है तो विभिन्न प्रदेशों के कर्मचारी हड़ताल करने लगते हैं, आज भी राजस्थान के कर्मचारी हड़ताल पर हैं, उत्तर प्रदेश के कुछ कर्मचारी हड़ताल पर हैं, बिहार के कर्मचारी हड़ताल कर चुके हैं। तो यह एक परंपरा है कि जब तक हड़ताल न करें नहीं मिलेगा। चूंकि मूल्यों पर नियंत्रण सरकार का होता है, मूल्यों के बढ़ने की जिम्मेदारी सरकार की होती है तो जब मूल्य बढ़ गए और आपने सरकारी कर्मचारियों के एक वर्ग को दे दिया तो देश की सरकार होने के नाते आपका यह फर्ज है कि आप उन कर्मचारियों के साथ न्याय करें ताकि जो प्रदेशों की सरकारें हैं उनको बेमतलब नुकसान न उठाना पड़े उनका काम बंद न होने पाए।

महोदय, अंतिम बात यह है कि अभी मध्यप्रदेश में ग्राम पंचायतों का चुनाव हो रहा था। ग्राम पंचायतों के चुनाव के लिए चार तारीखें नियत की गयी थी - 6 फरवरी, 9 फरवरी, 13 फरवरी, और 16 फरवरी। दिनांक 6 फरवरी को चुनाव हो गए लेकिन जब 13 फरवरी के चुनाव की नौबत आई तो हाईकोर्ट ने 12 तारीख को चुनाव स्टे कर दिया आधे चुनाव हो चुके हैं और आधे चुनाव को हाईकोर्ट ने स्टे कर दिया है। 12 तारीख को स्टे तब किया है यह जानते हुए कि प्रदेश के कोने-कोने में हाईकोर्ट का यह आदेश नहीं पहुंचेगा तब तक, 13 तारीख की सुबह तक। और नतीजा यह हुआ कि 13 को चुनाव हुए क्योंकि उनको सूचना बहुत देर से पहुंची, लेकिन उन चुनावों को रद्द कर दिया गया। आज जो न्यायपालिका हमारे चुनाव के मामलों में हस्तक्षेप करती है, मेरी तुच्छ बुद्धि में इसका इलाज होना

चाहिए। उनका जो मताधिकार है उसके साथ खिलवाड़ नहीं होना चाहिए और चुनावों के विषय को न्यायलपालिका के अधीन से निकालकर ...(**व्यवधान**)...

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (मध्यप्रदेश): यह कैसे हो सकता है? ...(**व्यवधान**)...

श्री पशुपति नाथ सुकुल: आफ्टर कांस्टीट्यूशनल अमेंडमैंट। मेरा विचार है कि ...(**व्यवधान**)...

श्री अटलबिहारी वाजपेयी: सभापति जी अगर चुनाव में धांधली होगी और सत्ता पक्ष चुनाव का मखौल करेगा तो अदालत का दरवाजा नहीं खटखटाया जाएगा क्या? ...(**व्यवधान**)...

श्री पशुपति नाथ सुकुल: में इस विचार का हूं कि इलेक्शन कमीशन को आप इतनी पावर दें कि it can also act like a tribunal. जो इलैक्शन कमीशन है वह पूरे देश पर निगाह रखते हुए उचित निर्णय लेगा। ऐसा नहीं कि कोई हाई-कोर्ट स्टे कर दे, कोई हाई-कोर्ट स्टे न करे। ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिए। चुनाव समय पर होने चाहिए। अगर हाई-कोर्ट स्टे करता जाएगा तो कोई चुनाव समय पर नहीं होगा। इसलिए वह सारा जो इसमें प्रावधान है, जो सारी व्यवस्था है, वह व्यर्थ हो जाएगी। तो मेरा चुनाव के विषय न्याय-पालिका से निकालकर के इलैक्शन कमीशन को सुपुर्द कर दिया जाए और इलैक्शन कमीशन को एक ट्राइब्यूनल की हैसियत से काम करने का अधिकार प्रदान किया जाए।

महोदय। इन शब्दों के साथ ...(**व्यवधान**)...

SHRI VIRENDRA VERMA: And no suggestion about checking corruption.

श्री पशुपति नाथ सुकुल: यह तो आप देंगे ...(**व्यवधान**)...

श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा: में तो कहूंगा। यानि आपके दिमाग में तो करप्शन है ही नहीं। ...(**व्यवधान**)...

पशुपति नाथ सुकुल: मैं मानता हूं कि करप्शन हमारे दिमाग में नहीं है, आपके दिमाग में है। तो आप उस गन्दगी को साफ कीजिए।

महोदय, मैं इन शब्दों के साथ जो मैंने राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर धन्यवाद का प्रस्ताव रखा है, मैं अपने सभी साथियों से अनुरोध करूंगा कि इसे सर्वसम्मति से पास करें।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ANAND SHARMA): Shri Deba Prasad Ray will second the Motion.

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to second the Motion moved by my colleague, Shri P. N. Sukul, on the Address of the President, which he has been pleased to deliver to both the Houses of Parliament, assembled together. It is worth cherishing that at the outset of his speech, he has paid tribute to the memory of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, whose birth centenary is being celebrated throughout the country this year. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the father of modern India, strove throughout his lifetime for the preservation of peace in the global arena, for creation of a socialistic society in the domestic arena. He gave us a destination to reach, he gave us a direction to follow and he also gave us the ideology to observe and, achieve. The path that was pursued by him was pursued farther after Shrimati Indira Gandhi took over as the Prime Minister with much vigour, much enthusiasm and much commitment. The life of Shrimati Indira Gandhi is a saga of determination and dedication, sacrifice and devotion. Shrimati Indira Gandhi, during- her lifetime, struggled against the forces of imperialism in the global arena, for the attainment of peace and freedom for all and she struggled against reactionary forces in the domestic arena for the attainment of socialism which made her enemies from within the country and outside the country to join hands to hatch a conspiracy to do away with her with the objective of subverting Indian democracy.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi was killed, she died but Indian democracy did not die. It has continued to persist. Rather it has grown stronger after Shri Rajiv Gandhi has taken over as the Prime Minister after the great national tragedy that took place in 1984. Ever since, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, the Prime Minister has undertaken the journey towards the same destination that Pandit Nehru and Shrimati Indira Gandhi had travelled for. It has been a saga of success and fulfilment of the objectives which formed the basis in the matter of having many major international decisions materialised. The Delhi Declaration of 1986 had gone a long way in ensuring an accord signed betwen the two super powers to have the INF Treaty and there is a great hope today that this will pave the way for total disarmament. The action plan that he submitted before the United Nations General Assembly in 1988 has been considered to be the most important document for the attainment of total disarmament in the global arena.

But the effort has not only been made to preserve peace in the global arena. The philosophy of Pandit Nehru is that peace and freedom are indivisible. India, under the leadership of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, while supporting the cause of the peace movement, has been extending cooperation and support to all the liberation organizations in different parts of the world in their fight against imperialism and colonialism. The success of our Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, does not lie only in the fact that he has been able to further the. pdace movement in the global arena and he has been able to protect the Indian democracy. The main success lies in the fact that the democracy as a political institution which became very vulnerable in the wake of the assassination of Mujibur Rahman in Bangladesh, Z.A. Bhutto in Pakistan and Smt. Gandhi in India, has been strengthened in the entire sub-continent and not only on the soil of India. The democratic election that has been held in the land of Sri Lanka after a gap of elevan years is simply the outcome of the accord that has been signed by Shri Rajiv Gandhi and Shri Jayewardene which has also allowed the Tamils in Sri Lanka to have their legitimate aspirations fulfilled by way of elections conducted in the North-Eastern Province of Sri Lanka. The episode of Maldives has only testified that India as a major nation has emerged as the defender of democracy in the subcontinent and it has been able to protect the cause of democracy in the entire subcontinent. Restoration of democracy in the land of Pakistan with the election of Ms. Benazir Bhutto to the office of Prime Minister should not be seen in isolation either. The democratic values and culture that India has been preserving and pursuing have played a great role in the matter of influencing the people of Pakis-' tan to ultimately opt for a democratic setup and they have been able to achieve the same today.

The leadership that Shri Rajiv Gandhi has been providing in the matter of stabilising the political institution in the country is not the outcome of the fact that he has taken some major political actions but because he has been able to create a strong economy which has been able to ensure the stabilisation of the political system. The economy that has been strengthened powerfully testifies to the fact that despite drought for the last four years, the effort of the Government to do away with the miseries of people could not be diluted. As the hon. President has rightly mentioned in his speech, as lie has rightly pointed out in his speech, despite severe drought for four years, the growth rate will be above the target of five per cent and massive literacy drive has been launched by the Government to eradicate illiteracy from the country involving 500 voluntary agencies; 1,60,000 villages have been provided with drinking water and 25 million people have been brought above the poverty line through the IRDP. A National Housing Bank has been created to provide shelter to all and many measures have been taken to ensure that no Indian is left without roof in the near future. These are

the steps he has taken to stabilise the economy and the economy has given support to the political system as a result of which the system has stabilised.

Reference has also been made by the President in his speech to the steps he has recently taken for the preservation of the unity and the integrity of the nation. An accord has been signed to settle the disputes in the north-cast. The entire north-cast region has joined the mainstream of the nation. And the incidence of insurgency has become a thing of the past. I would like to recall here during the lust Session when a discussion took place on the issue of promulgation of President's rule in Nagaland and Mizoram, the Opposition forces raised their voice against the promulgation of President's rule in Nagaland and Mizoram calling the promulgation as an assault on democracy. But the election results have proved simply that it was the action that was taken by the Government of India which the people of Nagaland and Mizoram have ratified and that the people have deprecated those who opposed that action on that particular occasion, *(lnteruption)* Concern has also been expressed by the honourable President in his speech over the prevalence of violence in the land of Punjab. It is a matter of gratification and satisfaction that at the same time determination has also been expressed to eliminate all violence, *(lnteruption)* Mr. Vice-Chairman, since I am a little unwell, I am sorry I conclude my speech here abruptly.

With these words I second the motion moved by my esteemed colleague, Shri -P.N. Sukul. Thank you.

SHRI M. A. BABY: Sir, I con-gratualte him on having made such a good speech after the accident.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ANAND SHARMA): Now there are 284 amendments to the motion. These may be moved at this stage.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Madhya Pradesh): Sir, I move—

1. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the intense resentment voiced all over the country against the agreement with Union Carbide in respect of the Bhopal Gas tragedy."

2. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the blatant attempt by the ruling party to exploit religion and religious symbols for electoral gains in Mizoram."

3. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the string of corruption cases like Bofors, HDW Submarine deal, Sumitomo—ONGC deal etc., which have surfaced recently."

4. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to reflect the acute agony being felt by the common people due to steep rise in prices of essential commodities."

5. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not refer to Government's volte-face on the question of creating an institutionalised arrangement, like the Lok Pal, to curb corruption at high places in public life."

6. That at the.*end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the continued denial of democratic and civic-rights to the citizens of Delhi."

7. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address docs not mention about Government's failure to secure recognition from China of the fact that Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh arc integral parts of India.",

8. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address docs not mention about the total failure of Government to curb terrorist violence in Punjab and to assure to the common mart a sense of security.",

9. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not express any concern over the pernicious influence of money power in elections and the urgent need to curb the same"

10. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to spell out any measures to curb the phenomenal growth of black money, an elaborate report about which has already been presented to Parliament in 1985.",

1 1. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the debasement and devaluation of institutions and offices like Parliament, State Legislatures, Presiding Officers, Governors, Judiciary etc. going on lately.",

12. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to take note of Government's persistent disregard of the counsel given by various Presiding Officers in Parliament against extra-budgetary levies being imposed on the eve of the Budget Session."

13. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address docs not mention about the Election Commission's recommendation that it be given an independent secretariat like that of Parliament, Supreme Court and U.P.S.C",

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal): Sir, I move—

14. That at the,*end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address docs not correctly and objectively reflect the realities of life in all spheres of life and the shifts and slides of the nationally accepted policies during the last year ",

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTA-CHARJEE (West Bengal): Sir, I movent). That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:'—

"but regret thai the phrase the final year of this Parliament'

emanating from the President in the Address on clearance from the Cabinet, smacks of unconstitutionality.",

111. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to declare acceptance of the demand for including 'Right to Work' as a Fundamental Right in the Constitution.",

112. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any specific scheme or schemes for providing employment to the unemployed.",

113. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address docs not mention about States rights,

114. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to accept the mistake of union Government in imposing Governors on States without consulting State Governments.",

115. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

but regret that the Address fails to take note of the paucity of resources for education and its adverse effect on progress in education.'",

116. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to take note of Government's failure to ensure proper justice to Bhopal Gas tragedy victims by agreeing to a small amount of compensation from the Union Carbide Corporation.",

117. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to highlight the evils of fundamen-'talism and obscurantism",

118. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to raise a voice of reason against the death threat held out to the author Salman Rushdie by religious bigots.",

119. That at the *end* of the Motion. the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to take note of Government's failure to ensure supply of essential commodities through public distribution system at a reasonable and subsidised rates to those below the poverty line",

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Karnataka): Sir, 1 move—

120. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added*, namely:—

"but regret that the Address docs not mention about the failure of Government to provide adequate compensation to the victims of the Bhopal tragedy".

121. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about Government's failure to get punished the criminals—the authorities of the Union Garbide—for their crime against the Bhopal citizens.",

122. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about immediate implementation of the recommendations of the Mandal Commission.",

123. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the growing discontentment amongst the backward classes and other minorities because of the non-implementation of the recommendations of the Mandal Commission.",

124. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the huge arrears of share of provident fund dues from industrialists.",

125. That- at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely.—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about rehabilitation of thousands of workers who have been retrenched in Bombay during mill strike period.",

126. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the failure of Government to give timely and adequate assistance to drought affected States.",

127. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the failure of Government to give timely and adequate financial assistance to flood-affected States.",

128. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely.—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about specific time-bound scheme to give employment to all.",

129. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any scheme to give unemployment allowance to all unemployed.",

130. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about making Doordarshan (T.V.) and All India Radio as autonomous corporations.",

131. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that there is no proposal in the Address to expedite the formation of Inter-State Council.",

132. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address for providing remunerative prices to agriculturists'.",

133. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the programme for providing potable drinking water to every village in the country.",

134. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address, about'intensification of family planning programme.",

135. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address, about the elimination of child labour.",

136. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address, about steps to reduce the disparity in income and expenditure.",

137. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address, about Providing compulsory universal education to all children below 14 years.",

138. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that there is no solution provided in the Address for settlement of the Punjab problem.",

SHRI P. K. KUNJACHEN (Kerala): Sir, I move—

161. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention that Government has failed to find out and liberate and rehabilitate the bonded labourers in the country.",

162. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention that Government has miserably failed to stop the increasing number of atrocities on Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and agricultural workers in our country.",

163. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention that Government has failed to implement radical land reforms and even after taking over surplus land over the prescribed ceiling to distribute it to the landless agricultural workers and poor peasants.",

164. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address docs not mention that Government has miserably failed to prevent communal riots and curtail the growth of communal, casteist and divisive forces in the country.",

165. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address docs not mention any thing about

the dissolution of the elected Panchayats in Tripura.",

166. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention anything about the increasing number of Railway accidents and the steps to be taken to prevent them in future.",

167. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention anything about the appointment of active Congress leaders as the Governor's of States, especially in the non-Congress ruled States.",

168. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention anything about the delay in sanctioning or completely rejecting State Projects by the Centre.",

169. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address docs not mention that Government has miserably failed to contain the extremist activities in Punjab and other parts of the country.",

170. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention that the Government has miserably failed to contain the inflation and price rise, which is really unbearable to the common people.",

171. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address has failed to mention anything about the steps to be taken for development of sports in our country or creation of awareness in the society about the importance and necessity of sports and physical fitness.",

172. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention that the Government has failed to protect the interests of the peasants by granting them remunerative prices for their produce and taking other measures to protect agriculture in general."

173. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address docs not mention that the Government has failed to protect the interests of agricultural workers by guaranteeing them at least minimum wage or enacting suitable Central Legislations for them.".

174. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address docs not mention anything about the Centre-State relations.",

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, 1 move—

183. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the acute unemployment problem and poverty in the country and the measures to be taken in regard thereto."

184. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the propriety of increasing the prices of steel, coal, milk, sugar, rice etc.",

185. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the suppression of freedom of expression of artists as demonstrated by the murder of street theatre artist Saf-dar Hashmi.",

186. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the inadequate Central assistance to flood and famine affected areas.",

187. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret- mat the Address does not mention about the communal disturbances in various parts of the country and anti-India and pro-Pakistan demonstration by communal and fundamentalist elements in Kashmir Valley.",

188. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address docs not mention about the C.B.I.'s failure to reveal its findings about the recent documentary evidence regarding the payment of commission in Bofors Howitzer deal.",

189. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

but regret that the Address docs not mention about non-clcar-

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ance of irrigation and other projects of States pending with the Central Government.",

190. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the delay in giving assent to the bills passed by the State Legislatures.",

191. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the implementation of the Report of the Mandal Commission.". SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: Sir, I move —

202. 'That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely.,—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the demands of farmers for remunerative prices for their agricultural produce.",

203. 'That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to include 'Right to Work' as a fundamental right in the Constitution.",

204. 'That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the reduction in the allotment of food supplies to States for supply through public distribution system.",

205. 'That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely.—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the demands

of agricultural and landless labourers for just wages.",

206. 'That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address docs not mention about the capability of Pakistan to manufacture Nuclear weapons and acquisition of sophisticated weapons by that country from America and China,",

207. 'That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the tribal unrest in the country.",

208. 'That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the influx of large number of refugees from Bangladesh to India.",

209. 'That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address docs not mention that the ruling party at the Centre would refrain from using religion for electoral gains in future as was done recently in Mizoram.",

210. 'That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address mentions about the "final year of this Parliament" in para 4 there-of rather that "final year of this Lok Sabha.",

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: (Andhra Pradesh) Sir, I move —

270. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the role of 1atc Lai Bahadur Sastri after referring *to* late Jawaharlal Nehru and Smt. Indira Gandhi, former Prime Minister.",

271. 'That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about mounting unemployment and rising poverty.",

272. 'That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the parity in prices of agricultural and industrial goods.",

273. 'That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret' that the Address fails to mention about the need to give central aid to the riot victims in the coastal areas of Andhra Pradesh.",

274. 'That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the Central aid for Andhra Pradesh and Bihar to contain extremism even after referring to the severity of problem.",

275. 'That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *addtS,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about.steep fall in the share of agricultural sector in G.D.P/fend experts.",

276. 'That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about rising debt burden on agriculturists and proposals for waiving all the outstnnd-

ing dues to financial institutions.",

277. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the non-conventional energy generation.",

278. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

'but regret that the Address fails to mention about the unnatural deaths among cotton growers and handloom weavers in Guntur and Pralcasham Districts of Andhra Pradesh.",

279. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the abnormally large number of visits of the Prime Minister to Tamilnadu for electioneering at great expense to the public exchequer.",

280. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the functioning of Governors of some States not only in non Congress(I) ruled States, but also in Congress(I) ruled States.",

281. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about Centre State relations and the implementation of the Sarkaria Commission's recommendations.",

282. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added,* namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the misuse of Doordarshan and All India Radio by the ruling party for partisan purposes.",

283. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added;* namely:—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the financial problems of States and devolution of funds.",

284. That at the *end* of the Motion, the following be *added, namely:—*

"but regret that the Address fails to mention any tangible solution to the Punjab problem.",

The questions were proposed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ANAND SHARMA): Now, the Motion and the amendments moved are open for discussion. Now, Mr. Arangil Srcedharan.

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Motion seeks to express our gratitude to the President for his Address to the joint session of Parliament and also for indicating the direction in which the nation is. moving. But I am unable to support this Motion and I oppose it tooth and nail.

Sir, 1 was stunned by one statement by the President. It is there on the first page, in paragraph 4: It says:

"As we enter the final year of this Parliament,we can look back with satisfaction to four years of conr structive endeavour."

1 tried to understand what the meaning of this sentence could be. This Parliament comprises the two Houses, the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha,.,

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA (Rajasthan): And the President.

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN: .... and the President. The Rajya Sabha is a perennial House. What does this Government mean by making this statement that we are entering the final year of this Parliament? Wc know the record of the party in power and we know the record of this Government. Once this Government brought the Emergency in this country which led to the suppression of all freedoms , and the representatives of this Government went to the Supreme Court and said, "Even if a policeman shoots and kills a person, there is no remedy."! There was encircling gloom and darkness in this country. But our people, the heroic people of India, gave a verdict in 1977 against the ruling party which brought back the right to freedom which the founding fathers had given us and Which would have vanished in this country:

Now, this sentence reads, "As we enter the final year of this Parliament ...". What is the intention of the Government? Do they want to do away with this *great* institution? Do they want to do away with this Parliament? Or, do they want to do away with this House?

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: it is bad drafting.

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN. Yes, it is bad drafting, as my esteemed colleague, Shri Morarka, says. But sorhebody must have, read this and seen this bad drafting. But the heads of those who sit oh the Treasury Benches are as empty as their the Treasury.

Then, Sir, there is another statement which amuses me. This I have been hearing for a very Jong time and I have heard it even in the Fourth Lok Sabha Where I used to hear this. It is this that trip, nation can be confident that we can eradicate poverty, and banish unemployment We have enjoyed freedom for the last forty years. We have had seven Plans. Where do we stand now? A large number of people are pushed below the poverty line. There arc lakhs of villages in this country where drinking water is not available. If I remember aright, there arc 45 lakhs of lepers in this country. India has the largest contingent of lepers in the world. Communicable diseases are spreading like wild fire. What happened to our fight against tuberculosis? What is happening in the rural areas where diseases arc spreading rapidly? Still you paint a rosy picture. But what is the nature of this rosy picture? Look at the political map of this country. What is happening in the various parts of the country. The President's speech says that chauvinism has grown and the fundamentalists are creating problems for this country and human values have been lost. But who is appeasing the fundamentalists? We on this side have said that we should have an uncompromising tirade against the fundamentalists and in Kerala, we made this an election issue and we went to the people and we defeated them and their allies with the Congress (I). What are you doing in this country? Take the Muslim Women's Protection Bill. Who is responsible for that, I am not surprised that fundamentalism is growing in this country where Ministers go to astrologers. Fundamentalism and superstitions will grow. And this is religious fundamentalism. The speaker who supported this Motion said: we believe in values; because we believe in values, we lost the election in Tamil Nadu. I would like the hon. Member to cross the border of Tamil Nadu and come to Kerala. It is a Congress-led front. What party is constituent of that front? Is not Muslim League a constituent. The Muslim constitution says, to become a member of the Muslim League you should be a Musalman. Such a party is accepted as part of your front. And you have the cheek to come here and Say: here we stand for value-based politics, secular-politics. What happened to the unity of the country? When we fought for the freedom of the country, we had great dreams, Sir. We thought that this country was going to be united, and one. And what hapened. On the eve of partition we

were told by Congress leadership that if we accept this partition; with that fissiparous tendencies will die. When the Socialist party in Congress pointed out that this would further divide this country and fissiparous tendencies will spread to all parts of the country, that argument was countered by saying that once you have a country which can be governed by the Government at the Centre, all the fissiparous tendencies can be put down. Congressmen say this. We solved the problems. We created this accord — Assam accord, Punjab accord. Who created this problem? Where is the need for these accords if problems are not there? When I talk of Punjab, I feel pride in hidden recess of my heart. A great State, which fought magnificently for the freedom of this country, a great State which is the sentinel of this country, a great State which fed the people of the countrv—how a section of the people of that State got alienated? I am not justifying violence. I do not believe in violence. My Party has categorically said that terrorist violence solves no problem. But how do they go astray? How did the Naxalite movement come up? During the emergency when I was in jail, a few Naxalitics were prisoners with me—young boys, well-meaning boys, though uneducated. That shocked mc. 1 asked: why did you become Naxalitics? I asked them. They said: Free India is betrayer, our problgms have not been solved, we have no food to eat, we have no money to marry off our sisters, our parents have starved to feed us. In such circumstances, fissiparous tendencies and violence will grow. To combat that where there is violence, certainly it must be put down with a strong hand. -But that- will not suffice.

What is your political approach to this problem? Why have these people gone away from the mainstream of our public life? Did you ever try to find out? You talk of opinion polls. What did the opinion pollsay about this? Did you try for a dialogue with them? Nothing of this kind was done.

5.00 p.m.

We have two or three examples to show that the Armed Forces cannot cow down the people. We have the example of Vietnam. The American Armed Forces with all the resources at their command could not put down the people of Vietnam. Algeria fought for its freedom. The Algerian freedom fighters gave a heroic fight. The French tried all the methods to curb it, but they did not succeed. So the path of peace, the path of understanding and compassion and the path of friendship should be followed. You should try to bring the people together through this path. Did't the Prime Minister go to Tamil Nadu and say during the elections that Dravidian rule has ended? Does he know anything about the Dravidian culture, the great culture of Chola kings whose empire extended right up to Thailand. It is an insult to our people and to our self-respect and dignity. The Dravidian rule has come and the Dravidian people have given it back.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ANAND SHARMA): Mr. Srcedharan, since it is 5 o' clock , would you like to finish your speech or continue tomorrow? If he is interested in completing his speech today, I have no objection. You can continue.

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN: So, these fissiparjous tendencies have risen because of your unimaginative politics. This is a vast country with *a* variety of languages and a variety of customs. Sometimes, when I travel from Delhi to Trivandrum, I feel that I am going through many countries. Diversity is the strength of our country and the fundamental basis of our country. If you don't recognise that diversity, I would not say that it is sub-nationalism. At least, recognise that diversity. India is a country where not only languages and religious coexist. You go to Bihar and you find one century. You go to Kerala and you find another century. You go to Rajasthan and you find another cttuty. In

India wc have the coexistence not only of religious, languages and superstitions but also the coexistence of centuries. In such a country, there should have been more of decentralisation. I am glad that at long last the President says that we arc going to decentralise. Decentralisation was one of the main planks of our freedom struggle. Mahatma Gandhi talked of Gram Swaraj, our great ideal. But what is happening in this country. Centralisation of the worst order had taken place. I am proud to say that the experiment in decentralisation, to a very considerable extent, was started in Karnataka. The three-tier system of decentalisation was introduced. The Gram Sabha fortns the foundation or base for decentralisation. The West Bengal has already had election for Panchayats. In many Congress-rulled States, the Panchayat elections have not been held. How can you decentralise?-You believe in centralisation of the most cruel and monstrous type. Your Chief Ministers asfc not elected by the Legislature parties. Your Chief Ministers are appointed from Delhi. You call this decentralisation. The hon. speaker who supported the Motion was Saying that there is trouble in Janata Dal. We are a democratic party. We are a party which; does not believe that one

leader can dictate. Everyone in our party is free to express his views. There is a very strong expression of opinion in our party. There are only two places where there are no'yoices of dissent. One is in a dictatorship and the other is in the graveyard. My party is not a graveyard. You are also facing the same thing in Bihar. What is happening there? The dictates of the Congress High Command are not being heeded. Till yesterday it was being heeded. After Tamil Nadu elections, there has been a sea change and the people in the Congress Party feel that this Prime Minister is not indispensable. They feel that personality cult will not work in this country. That streak of democracy within tne Congress Party gives us a happy note for-the future of this country.

SHRI YASHWANT SlNHA (Bihar): Glasnost within the Congress.

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN: Yes, glasnost. Don't try to blame us. You live in a glass house and you want to throw stones at us. You would not succeed.

Now, Sir, when I talk of decentralisation, I would like to refer to the role of Governors, particularly in non-Congress (I) ruled States. You have sent Congress politicians. Till recently, they were congress politicians. You have sent them to some non-congress (I) ruled States. You have a Governor in Kerala who is creating a lot of problmes for our State Government. Sometimes I feel like calling as Governess because she treats the Cabinet as children. She is acting in the most arbitrary manner. To the Senate of Calicut University, 14 names were suggested by the State Government after deep consideration, after correct assessment of the whole situation. But the Governor rejected 8 of them without assigning any reason. If they are bad people, she could have said it. Where is the machinery for her to investigate the credentials of these people? She has no Intellingcnce Department. She takes advice from the Congress Party. Congress Party also submitted a list. She accepted the Congress party list and rejected the Government list. The Government whether it is run by the Congress Party or a non-Congress Party...

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI M. M. JACOB): Congress Party never submits a list....

SHRI M. A. BABY: Everybody knows that it is the State of Mr. Jacob. Perhaps, you also gave a list. You must have given an oral list. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN: For the Calicut University, the Government suggested 13 names and the Cover-

nor rejected 8 names. For student representatives on the Kerala University, the Government Suggested ten names and 8 were rejected. The Opposition party, the Congress party's youth cadre was nominated to the Senate. I do not know who gave the names.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ANAND SHARMA): But one thing is there. Mr. Sreedharan. I am sure that you are aware of the procedure. No Member here is allowed to cast any aspersion on the conduct of a Governor and discuss his or her action.....

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN: I am not casting any aspersion...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ANAND SHARMA): Unless and until you bring a substantive motion, this cannot be allowed.

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN: Please listen to me, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ANAND SHARMA): Nothing can be discussed like this, No statement can be made.

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN: Let me explain, Sir. I am not referring to the Governor. I am referring to the Chancellor.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ANAND SHARMA): You cannot go beyond the rules. .

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN: I am referring to the action of the Chancellor.

SHRI M. A. BABY: The Chairman has permitted to discuss the behaviour of the Governor of Andhra Pradesh. There was a big commotion in this House. The Chairman in his wisdom has permitted us to raise a question relating to the Governor of Andhra. Pradesh.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ANAND SHARMA): No, no. There was a separate motion. There was arradvance notice. And that is what I am trying to convey to Mr. Sreedharan.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: My friend, Mr. Sreedharan, is discussing not the conduct of the Governor but the conduct of the Chancellor. That can be discussed. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN: I am discussing the conduct of the Chancellor.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: May I say, Sir.... *(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ANAND SHARMA): In a roundabout manner, he is coming to the same thing. Vajpayceji knows what he is saying.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: He is narrating the facts....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ANAND SHARMA): Please do not mention the Governor.

SHRI M. A. BABY: Let us not be forced to bring the name of the Governor.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN **(**SHRI ANAND SHARMA); NO, Even by inference, even by suggestion you cannot do that.

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN**:** Great tribute was p'aid to Jawaharlal Nehru, and rightly so. But how long can this party live and bask in the sunshine of Jawaharlal fclchjru's achievements? Jawaharlal Nehru, no doubt, was a very great man. But how long can you go on saying^,.

AN HON**.** MEMBER: So long as the grandson is tjierc, the sun will shine.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: What a brilliant exposure!

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN: I have not heard of this type of heredity anywhere.

Now about our foreign policy. What is the test of our foreign policy? The test of the foreign policy is how far has our foreign policy sustained our national interest. Lenin said foreign policy is the extension and reflection of national policy. So, what is our foreign policy?

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: (Maharashtra) Mr. Vajpayee, what is the state of your policy?

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Our stand is genuine non-alignment.

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN: If you look at the map of the world, you can see two worlds: one extending from Beijing to Cairo, the world of Afro-Asia, the world of poverty, the world of unemployment, the world of starvation, the world of infectious diseases. You will find another world extending from Cairo to Los Angeles, including the Communist European countries. They are the world of affluence. Whether it is capitalism or communism, to very considerable extent they have solved the basic problems of the people. How do we identify? What should be our identification? Our identification should be with this world of Afro-Asia. When Janata Party was in power, I proudly recall, our relationship with Pakistan was stabilised to a very considerable extent....

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Foreign Minister of Janata Party is sitting here.

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN: I am paying tributes for having done it. We opened the door to china. What was the reason behind it? it was because we felt that these countries of Asia and Africa should come together but not for confrontation; we cannot have a confrontation with the western world, for our survival, for our existence. What is happening in the European Economic Community (EEC)? There is a keen competition between the developing countries as far as European economic market is concerned. If we can do away with that competition, then for some of the commodities that we produce and some of the commodities we export, we can link ourselves with Malaysia, Ceylon, Pakistan, China. We can have our own market. European community is going to be in European hands and things are going to be a living reality. Within a decade, Europe is going to be one. In that world, a new powerful bloc is emerging and that bloc is going to dictate terms to us. What are we going to do? Are we going to unite? There are many problems but those problems have got to be sorted out. Was there no problem between France and Germany, the bitter enemies in the last war? France was annihilated by Hitler's troups. Still they could sort it out. Was there no problem between Italy and other countries? That also could be sorted out. I say this because there is ho positive direction in our foreign policy. No doubt, our Prime Minister visits all the countries, and those visits are good for development of tourism. But what is the positive content? Has it helped our trade? Has it helped our economic relations? Has it helped us to reduce our armed forces so that money spent on , defence can be diverted to development? We are a very poor and developing country. We need a lot of money for development. So, when we look at the positive content of the foreign policy, it is very little.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: The Prime Minister has already clarified about the foreign tour and the benefits. You were pot there in the house.

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN: When somebody goes round he has to justify. I can understand his position because lot of money is spent on his tours

So, my feeling fs that there is no positive content of foreign policy. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru laid down certain fundamentals but we have not been able to carry them forward and create an atmosphere where India becomes important in the world. There was a time when Asian countries and African countries looked up to India for leadership during freedom struggle and immediately after that. When Jawaharlal Nehru convened Asian Conference in Indonesia our star was high in the horizon. Now we do not have that strength. Our voice in external affairs is not that deeply respected as it used to be at that point of time.

Sir, the president in his Address talked about education, about Novodaya. What is the position today? Let us turn the searchlight inside and find out. The number of illiterates in this country is 42,42,56,000, that is 58.7 per cent of the population and the number of female illiterates is 24,16,01,195, that is 75 per cent of the population. After 40 years of freedom the majority of people in this country are illiterate. One thing I would like to place before this House. Education is a very important thing. To teach an alphabet is to inaugurate a revolution. You take, for example, the situation in Kerala, a small State. What is the test of your successful planning? Some of the speakers stated about the industrial growth, about the agricultural growth and about the national growth, but are these the tests of a successful planning? The success of the plan is not tested by these statistical figures but by the quality of life. Has the quality of life in this country improved? When you talk of the quality of life, take infant mortality. How for have you succeeded in eradicating it. How far have you succeeded in eradicating illiteracy? Take per capita availability of beds in the hospitals. How many beds are available? Per capita availability of doctors, per capita availability of nurses, these are the yardsticks by which your plan is tested, these are the yardsticks by which your economy is tested, not by the figures which have not seen the fight Of the day. In this respect a small State of Kerala has done better.

SHRI M. M. JACOB: Thank you for the compliments. Kerala was ruled by Congress for the last ten years. You came only now.

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN: All the ten years you have looted that State. When Mr. Karunakaran went out of power, huge debts were tossed on our backs. You have looted that State. Do not say that.

AN HON. MEMBER: We are not dakoos.

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN: You have looted this country for such a long time. Looking to the quality of life we are very backward. How will you improve it? If this improvement has come to Kerala, Mr. Jacob, it is not because of the Congress rule or the opposition rule, it has come to Kerala because of literacy, education. Our male illiteracy is only 29.8 per cent and female illiteracy is only 34.27 per cent. So, if you can make education widespread, if you can create literacy. I am sure, the face of Uttar Pradesh will change; I am sure the face of Bihar will change. Perhaps Congress does not want it. If the people of Uttar Pradesh become literate, Congress will not be in power for three hours. So in education, that is the position.

Then take electoral reforms. They say, it is a revolution. The Prime Minister has claimed that electoral reforms are a revolution because 18 year old boys and girls are getting voting rights. But who started the revolution? We in the non-Congress-ruled States started this revolution in panchayat and local bodies' elections. You have borrowed it from us. It is not your original idea. You have a ten,r dency to borrow anything and everything from anybody and claim a copyright on it. This is what has happened. What

happened in Mizoram? Sir, if you want me to close, I will close.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ANAND SHARMA): Please continue.

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN: In Mizoram, ballot boxes were found in guest houses!

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ANAND SHARMA): Don't enter into a discussion. Please try to conclude now.

SHRI M. A. BABY: Don't say inconvenient things.

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN: Anyway, since you are in the Chair, I do not want to inconvenience you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ANAND SHARMA): I am certainly not inconvenienced.

SHRI ARANGIL SREEDHARAN: Sir, I have great faith in the future of this country. This country has been made poor by man. Nature has been bountiful in bestowing resources on it. We have all the wealth of the world in this country. We have mismanaged it largely because of the wrong Congress rule.

We are passing through a very critical period, for our national values, unity and integrity are in question. A time like this demands strong minds, true faiths and willing hands, men whose lust for power cannot kill men whom spoils of office cannot buy, men who possess an honest . opinion and will. And in 1989 When the elections are held, I am sure such men will be at the helm of affairs in this country. Thank you, Sir.

ALLOCATION OF TIME FOR DISPOSAL OF GOVERNMENT AND OTHER BUSINESS

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ANAND SHARMA): I have to inform Members that the Business Advisory Committee at its meeting held today, the 23rd February, 1989, allotted time for Government Legislative and other Business as follows:

Business	*Time Allotted*
1. Discussion on die motion of Thanks on the President's Address.	4 days i.e. February 23, 27, 28 & March 1, 1989. Reply will be on March 2, 1989.
2. Consideration and return/passing of the following Bills:	
(a) The Direct Tax Laws(Amendment) Bill,1989, as passed by the Lok Sabha.	3 hours
(b) The Prevention of Apartheid in Sports Bill, 1988.	1 hour in addition to the time already taken
(c) The Central Industrial Security Force(Amdendment) Bill.1988.	1 hour-30 minutes
3. Discussion on the Resolution seeking disapproval of the Income-tax (Amendment) Ordinace, 1989 and consideration and passing of the "Income-tax (Amendment) Bill, 1989.	1 hour 30 minutes

The Committee also recommended that from 1st March, 1989, the House should sit upto 6 p.m. daily and beyond 6 p.m. as and when necessary for the transaction of Government business.

The House now stands adjourned to meet at 11 a.m. on Friday, the 24th February, 1989.

The House then adjourned at twenty-four minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday the 24th February, 1989.